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/For information on membership in the Farmer's Association, see category 474./

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

together—in a compound or in several houses in close proximity; they are also usually in the same *lin*. (See Chapter 5 for a complete discussion of kinship patterns in the village.) For example, most of the Huangs live in a single very large house, the Shens occupy several separate houses which form a sort of compound, and the Shihs live in adjacent houses. However, not all of the village's K'ang families came into the village at the same time or trace their descent through a common ancestor, nor do all of the Shih families, nor all of the Huangs. The lack of a common demonstrated ancestor and therefore of a *tsu* relationship on the part of some families with the same surname is also evidenced by their separate locations in the village as can be seen with the several K'ang family groups and the two Shih family lines. The village map shows the tendency of related families to cluster together as closely as possible.

The houses of the villagers, at least the original sections built, are of one basic type; they vary mainly in size. The basic structure is a single length of rooms, with the ancestral-worship room in the center, flanked by one or two rooms on either end which are used for sleeping and cooking. Many houses in the village have been enlarged by the addition of wings which give the dwelling an L or U shape, but most of them were originally built according to the basic plan.

When a family increases, as when it is extended through the marriage of sons, the house is usually enlarged. As the family continues to increase, more and more wings are added when finances permit. Sometimes these wings are added in a fairly orderly way, and sometimes they are added in such a random fashion as to make the house a kind of maze. Each household or nuclear family then has its own apartment in the large house. However, there are only three houses in Hsin Hsing which have been enlarged in this manner. (See Figures 1 and 2 for diagrams of enlarged houses.)

Other families tend to build new houses near the original family house rather than add wings. Over the years, each of these individual houses is expanded to fit the new housing needs of the growing family. Interspersed throughout the village are the smaller houses of families which are either made up of very small groups or are completely unrelated to any other family in the village.

However, relationships between village families cross kinship and even village lines. For example, several kinds of associations draw unrelated village families together: a Mother-Father Association which aids member families at the time of a death; sworn brother groups; moneylending societies; a Farmers' Association village membership unit; small local cooperative pumping station associations and an area Water Conservation Association for maintaining irrigation systems; and a Mother-Sister Association (somewhat similar to a Parent-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 28]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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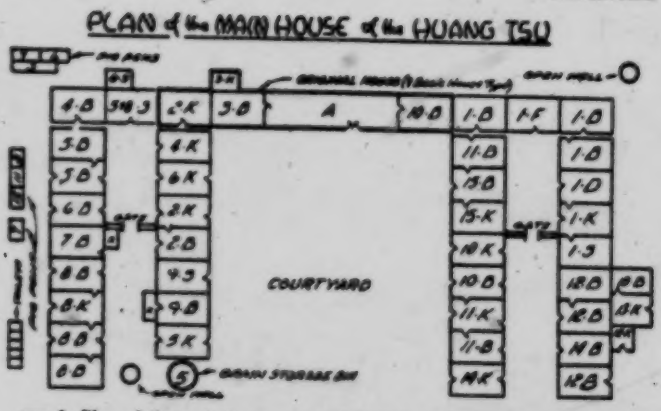

FIG. 1. Plan of the main house of the Huang *tsu*. *A*, ancestral worship room, used by whole *tsu*; *B*, bedroom; *K*, kitchen; *S*, storeroom; *F*, family room; *D*, dining room. The numbers 1 through 15 represent the fifteen Huang households which inhabit the Huang *tsu* main house. It will be noted that the rooms which make up the apartment of each household may be in different parts of the house. The house is built of brick and cement, with a tile roof. Only rooms 10-K, 10-B, 11-K, and 11-B have bamboo and mud walls.

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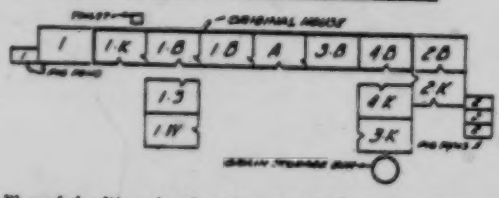

FIG. 2. Plan of the K'ang brothers' house. *1*, K'ang T'u; 2, K'ang Ting-shan; *3*, K'ang Ting-shan's first son; *4*, K'ang Ting-shan's second son. *A*, ancestral worship room, used by all four households; *B*, bedroom; *K*, kitchen; *S*, storeroom, and *IV*, water buffalo shelter. K'ang T'u and K'ang Ting-shan are brothers. A number of years ago they divided their family into two separate economic units; at the same time they divided ownership of their house. Recently K'ang Ting-shan and his sons divided their large family into separate economic units and also divided ownership of their half of the house. (See Chapter 5 for a discussion of family division.)

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Teacher Association) at the district primary school serving the children from Hsin Hsing and other nearby villages. Villagers also have

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Villagers also have relationships beyond the village through economic, educational, and religious activities, and especially through matrilateral and affinal relatives.

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THE POPULATION AND ITS ECONOMIC BASE

In 1958, the population of Hsin Hsing village was listed in the census records of the Pu Yen Hsiang office as 657 persons in 115 households.[4] A look at the available population records for Hsin Hsing and the twenty-two villages of Pu Yen Hsiang indicates a rapid but steady population growth for the area, which is in line with the trend in the rest of Taiwan. Population statistics for the village are available only for the period after 1953. Nevertheless, interviews with older people and reference to national statistics indicate that the population of Hsin Hsing village and the surrounding area was sparse in the early part of the twentieth century. There seems to have been a substantial population increase in the relatively prosperous late 1920's and 1930's, and especially in the postwar period after social order had been re-established. But, apparently starting in the late 1940's and especially in the 1950's, village population growth leveled out as the continuing increase was siphoned off by out-migration.

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With regard to the national population growth figures, Barclay notes that "over the entire census period (1905–1943) growth averaged 1.76 percent per year" (1954b:13). In the first two decades of the century the natural increase of the population was about one percent. "By 1940 Taiwanese were increasing at close to the rate of 2.5 percent per annum" (Barclay, 1954b:13).[7] For more recent years the average annual rate of population increase in Taiwan (1953–1956) was 3.8 percent per annum (United Nations, 1957:114–115).[8] The average annual rate of population increase for mainland China for this same period (1953–1956) was 2.2 percent per annum (United Nations, 1957:114–115). Of Taiwan, Barclay writes that "Natural increase of such dimensions is exceptional. Such growth in itself implies that some change has taken place in the organization of human activities" (1954b:13).

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This steady rise in rate of population increase cannot be the result of a rise in the Taiwanese birthrate. Over these years the Taiwanese birthrate shows a decline. The prewar birthrates in the 1930's were in the middle forties per thousand persons. In the immediate postwar period, apparently as a result of a continuing high degree of economic and political dislocation, the birthrates dropped to the high thirties. For the first half of the 1950's the rates were again up almost to the middle forties per thousand, but with a falling trend so that the 1957 and 1958 figures show less than forty-one births per thousand persons.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

regularly go past by bus or bicycle. Itinerant merchants and artisans frequently stop in the village to sell their wares and services and are patronized by many villagers; some residents, however, go regularly to Lukang to shop. Villagers who supplement their farm income by peddling vegetables in season travel around the area, thus coming into contact with the people of nearby villages. Other outside contacts are made in Taipei by village people who go there to work and thus move regularly back and forth between city and village.

In addition to the economic factor which provides these extended intervillage relations and more outside contact in general, there are many other factors operative (some which we have already had an indication of and others which will be explored in later sections). Factors such as the expanded school attendance by villagers do much to bring young villagers into regular contact with students from other villages and even other areas, especially if the school is above the primary level. Contacts between the villagers and outside are also increased by the Farmers' Associations and the general expansion of the irrigation system, and, of course, the factor of social organization and the Chinese kinship system, which is basically patrilineal and patrilocal, is extremely important. As a result of this kinship system and its rules of marriage, as well as the villagers' preference for marrying nonrelatives from outside the village, there is an extension of kinship relationships beyond the village area. The matrilateral and affinal relationships furnish important social, economic, and sometimes political links between Hsin Hsing villagers and people in other villages. All these relationships have combined to extend the villager's orientation well beyond his own community. However, it is primarily the economic sphere that forms the basis for this newly emphasized orientation, and it is to this that we will first turn.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Other classes are held for training boys in agricultural techniques. There are also occasional adult classes on the proper use and application of fertilizer and planting techniques for some crops. The experts on various subjects who are brought in to speak to these classes are sometimes too technical for their audience, are not trained in practical application, and are strangers who know little of the immediate agricultural problems of the area. When this happens, the farmers tend to lose respect for and interest in such sessions. The Farmers' Association also sends trained women into the villages to teach women and girls how to prepare powdered milk for children and introduces new farm tools, new types of seeds and crops, fertilizer, and insecticides to the local area.

Under the auspices of the Farmers' Association the 4-H movement has been introduced in some villages in Pu Yen Hsiang. The movement is relatively new in Taiwan, having been introduced with the help of JCRR in the early 1950's. The movement has been in existence in Pu Yen Hsiang only during the past few years; so far it has met with only moderate success. The 4-H groups are for boys and girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty-two. The program attempts to teach them the proper care of fields and livestock, home economics, and general record-keeping for income and expenses. Another purpose, set forth when the goals of 4-H are presented to the villagers, is to keep the young people busy and out of trouble.

There is no 4-H group in Hsin Hsing village since there is no one qualified and willing to lead the program. Such a position demands an educated man who has free time and a knowledge and an interest in modern farm techniques. The person best suited to lead the program in Hsin Hsing is a relatively poor man who does not have enough free time and who is not particularly respected by many villagers because of his poor financial condition. "If a poor man should tell people something sensible about what to do, no one would pay any attention. After all, no one wants to listen to the words of a poor man. But let the poor man suddenly become famous and rich, and people will listen to his most ridiculous ideas."

In addition to these many educational programs, the Farmers' Association also often subsidizes a farmer who is willing to attempt something new, such as buying an insecticide sprayer, building a new type of pig sty, or cementing a courtyard in front of his home for the drying of rice or vegetables. The association can give a partial subsidy to only a few farmers in the many villages each year. Usually, villages in which there are farmers interested in using the subsidy draw lots. However, the subsidies are so small that a great deal of money must be added to finance the building of a pig sty or a cement drying area, so only a few villages take part. Once the village receives the subsidy, there is likely

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Taiwan AD6

an examination. Each year many graduates of area primary schools are denied entrance to the middle schools for lack of room. Students are eliminated on the basis of the examination system. Therefore, the choice of which middle school a student will attend frequently depends entirely upon which school admits him.

Regardless of the course of study, most parents hope that a middle school education will enable their son or daughter to secure some kind of minor white-collar job such as clerk in the local government agency. One Hsin Hsing villager struggled financially to send his son to middle school because he felt the boy was a weakling (he was extremely thin and small for his age and wore glasses) and therefore would never be able to farm. The father felt that the only hope for his son was to go on with his schooling so that later he might possibly obtain some kind of minor position with the government. In a few cases, the parents may aspire to a college education for their child.

It is compulsory for all middle school students in Taiwan to join certain school organizations. Boys and girls in junior middle school are members of a youth organization somewhat similar to the American Scouts. Senior middle school students join the Youth Corps, an anti-Communist organization dedicated to retaking the mainland. Boys and girls in all the colleges in Taiwan must also belong to this organization.

By means of the centrally organized Youth Corps, the government is able to give young Taiwanese military, political, and physical preparation against Communist attack. The many after school meetings and outings which members must attend give the government the opportunity to propagandize the young members in anti-communist thought and inculcate in them patriotism towards President Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government in Taiwan. The government has had some success in this effort in the Hsin Hsing area, but elsewhere a great resentment has been built up. The resentment appears to be manifested more by the Taiwanese in the colleges and universities than by the middle school students.

A village middle school student rarely keeps up his earlier close associations with other village children unless they too attend middle school. By the time the students enter senior middle school their childhood contacts are almost forgotten as they join cliques of their classmates; the disruption of old patterns is so sharp that they almost snub their former friends in the village. Their new associates are almost always students from other villages and from the town or city in which the school is located. The association pattern in primary school is quite different. The children from one village tend to stay together, even though the school includes students from other villages.

Not only do these middle school students usually fail to maintain

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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hsiang Public Office and obtain permission to bury the body in the public cemetery. (Burial in private fields has not been permitted since early in the Japanese period.)

Relatives, including *ch'in tsu*, married daughters, and *ch'in ch'i*, are notified of the death and asked to come to the home of the deceased. Relatives in distant places are notified by means of telegram, special-delivery express letter, or telephone. If their relationship to the deceased was a close one, they too are asked to come to the village. Relatives who live nearby are usually notified of the death by messengers, such as a younger member of the deceased's family or some *ch'in tsu*, friend, or neighbor.

While they are still on the road approaching the village relatives begin to wail, and as they enter the village they fall to their knees and crawl to the house and into the room where the body lies. Someone who was present at the time of the death may crawl out to meet and welcome these relatives and then crawl into the room with them. *Ch'in tsu* relatives and married daughters are expected to wail and crawl both to show their respect for the deceased and to express their sorrow for not being present at the death. The villagers consider it unfilial to be absent when a parent or *ch'in tsu* relative who is older or of a higher generation dies. Many villagers look on and may criticize the arrivals for not wailing loud enough or for not getting down on their hands and knees to crawl soon enough. One may also hear old village women note how filial someone is because of the distance she crawls or the way she wails.

Preparation for the Funeral and Burial

Immediately after the death, arrangements are made for five *tao shih* to come to the village from Lukang to officiate at the funeral. A village funeral may be delayed because the *tao shih* are participating in a funeral elsewhere and are not available immediately. Usually, five *tao shih* form a group and work together with a small orchestra of three or four men who normally accompany them to the ceremony. The group of about eight men usually charges approximately NT $380 (US $10.50).

It is very rare that a Buddhist funeral is held in Hin Hsing or other villages of the area. While most of the villagers worship Buddha and Kuan Yin along with the Taoist hierarchy of gods, they are not Buddhists, and the one such funeral held in recent years was for the old mother of the largest landlord family in the village. This woman was a Buddhist, and while she was still alive had Buddhist nuns come to the village to pray for her.

Virtually all village families willingly assist in the funeral preparations. Most village families are members of one of several "Father-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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764 595 Mother Societies" organized to provide help for member families at the time of a death. Membership in a society is a kind of insurance which helps the bereaved family through the ordeal. The members of a father-mother society stand ready to handle the many tasks which must be carried out for the funeral ritual and burial, and each contributes a sum of money to the family of the deceased. This amount is calculated on the basis of the current cash value of a given quantity of pork.

764 595 156 Usually one or two male members of the society take informal charge of the many arrangements and tell each person just which tasks he should perform. This "organizer" usually is self-appointed and assumes this responsibility "because he likes to run things, regardless of the amount of time and work it involves." The village storekeeper, a member of the Shen *tsu*, is such a man. He is also a part-time farmer, the elected head of the village Farmers' Association unit, and a shaman. He "pushes himself" into many such positions and, although the villagers feel that he is rather aggressive along these lines and not necessarily the most capable person available, they nevertheless accept his leadership since he handles so many unpleasant and time-consuming tasks.

764 621 In addition to those in the father-mother society, almost all the other villagers hold themselves ready to aid a bereaved family. While the members of the society are called upon to do the most time-consuming and hardest work, any villager must be prepared to help. If a death occurs at harvest time, the village farmers may have to postpone the harvesting of the crops, because if a man is requested to participate in and help with the funeral, he can do nothing but accept and do the tasks assigned to him. The time of death is therefore a time of village unity. No matter what feeling may have existed between a villager and the deceased or the members of his family, the villager, if called upon, cannot refuse to help. "One cannot have bad feeling toward the dead."

764 Among the tasks assigned to the helpers are: notifying relatives and friends of the death; constructing an outdoor altar for the funeral ceremony; buying, preparing, and cooking the food which is served to all who participate in the funeral; sewing mourning clothes; and bringing the coffin from Lukang to the village. Villagers also help in digging the grave and carrying the coffin to the cemetery later.

For the most part the members of the family have little work to do, and at most the immediate family may be found helping to make mourning clothes or preparing vegetables for the cooks. Usually, they are kept busy mourning and wailing and greeting relatives and friends who arrive from elsewhere.

[292] During the period of the funeral and attendant rituals, the family of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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since most often neither their own *tsu* nor family groupings are large enough in numbers to offer sufficient possibilities for relationships. As I have indicated throughout the book, although *tsu* and kinship is the most important single basis for relationships with others, Hsin Hsing villagers are far from being tied to one another exclusively on the basis of kinship or *tsu* relationship.

Hsin Hsing has many formal and informal "social associations," activities and relationship groupings whose membership roles cross kinship lines. We have seen this in groups of villagers based on membership in a particular irrigation system or pumping station association, exchange labor groups, cooperating groups in vegetable marketing, loan associations, father-mother burial associations, sworn-brother age groups, and so on. Each non-kinship based formal or informal activity and association that a villager participates in and depends on performs an important function and fulfills a need. By doing this, such diversified non-kin relationships also tend somewhat to interfere with and weaken *tsu* organization by impairing its solidarity and therefore its ability to achieve security for its members. By doing what the kinship organizations cannot do, such associations expose the inherent weakness of the kinship-based organizations.

At the same time, the non-kinship based organizations have inherent weaknesses of which the villagers are aware. Each has a different composition of members, and the villager does not share membership in all the different associations with a single uniform grouping of fellow villagers. The *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kin group thus remains the primary basis for the most continuous and stable long-term relationships; such relationships are institutionalized and, unlike relationships with fellow villagers or outsiders, do not change from time to time. The villager therefore appreciates the importance of his kinship group and is desirous of maintaining his close relationship to it. But he also appreciates the necessity of establishing supportive socioeconomic relationships beyond the *tsu* and village, and it is these kinds of relationships which appear to be increasing in both frequency and importance and to be fostering a decline in identification with the village as a community.

Such a decline means that villagers today find it increasingly difficult to cooperate for mutual aid, even when it is still necessary. It is even questioned whether aid should be offered to a non-*tsu* fellow villager in times of emergency, such as when problems arise with other villages. The case of Li Fan discussed in Chapter 6 shows that the villagers now often have little basis for cooperation and mutual aid and, in addition, are today faced with a conflict of loyalties—a waning loyalty to their fellow villagers and, at the same time, at least a continuing and perhaps even growing loyalty to people in other vil-

4: Barnett

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[Different associations may be found under variety of categories. For Money Lending Club category 525 has been used; for Sworn Brothers Association category 573, 561; for God's Association and Temple Association category 474.]

CHAPTER VI

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

571 The third category in the discussion of the social organization of Sanlei Ts'un is "voluntary associations." This is merely a convenient label for it should not be construed that the social units discussed in the two preceding chapters lack aspects of volunteerism. For example, although the farmers' association is a formal unit, membership and participation in governance is voluntary. Even though processes creating initial membership in kinship units may be voluntary, i.e., birth, adoption, arranged marriage, continued participation is voluntary, particularly in such larger units as the "ta chia ting" or "compound."

Money Lending Club

525 Sanlei Ts'un has money lending clubs similar to 575 those which have been described for a Japanese village [171] (Embree, 1939:138-147) and for mainland China (Fei, 1939: 267-74). The clubs range in size from ten to thirty members with a typical size of about twenty. Clubs are set for a certain amount, say $300.00 per man. The first night the club meets, everyone pays the club organizer

525 $300.00. The second night the club meets, everyone writes
• 575 a bid somewhat less than $300.00 (in even dollar amounts only) on a piece of paper and places it in a hat. After the bids are mixed up, each is lifted out with chopsticks and placed on a table in order of removal from right to left with the low bid declared the winner. In case of a tie, the bid on the right is the winner. The winner collects the amount of his bid from each member except that any previous winner (including the originator, winners are now called debtors to the club) pays the full original amount of $300.00. This process continues until everyone has collected once, so of course, only those who have not yet collected place bids.

Since early collectors bid less than the required amount, it is possible to wait until the end, each time paying less than the full amount, and yet collect the full amount from every other person. That is, with 21 members a participant would pay 20 times and collect once from the other 20 members. If every bid was $300.00, everyone would break even, but a typical early bid is $250.00 to $260.00 dollars, but the person who collects at this $250.00 rate will eventually, as a debtor, pay the full $300.00. Even if the cash is not needed, one should put in an early bid under $300.00 because the money could be placed in a bank or post office, earn interest, and eventually be paid back without interest. The amount of the potential interest income determines early bids for

525 those who do not need the money. In essence, a man is in
• 575 a legal gambling situation in a country which has declared any gambling other than the official government lottery illegal. Although the period between bids in the traditional accounts are of varying lengths up to once a year, meetings in Sanlei are always monthly. The largest club in the area during our residence contained 30 members and therefore, took 30 months to complete.

There are advantages for every participant in the club. The originator obtains a large sum of money which is paid back monthly without interest. He has the responsibility to collect the money from each person within three days of the bid and turn it over to the winning bidder, and he sometimes provides small refreshments such as soda pop and cookies. Each member also benefits as he has a ready source where he can get a sizeable sum of money merely by placing a low bid. Furthermore, by joining the club, he directly performs a service for the originator since the latter always furnishes a reason for his need for money. Privolous needs would be rejected. The monthly meeting is also a social situation, consuming an hour or more of one evening each month. It is also a major topic of discussion before the meeting with speculation about the size of the winning bid and after the meeting, there is more comment about why someone may have needed the money so badly, indicated by a below average bid. Finally, even if no profit is realized, the club is an enforced

525 method of saving for it is difficult for anyone otherwise
575 to accumulate a large sum of cash at one time. Membership in a money-lending club necessarily means that at least once during its term a man will have a sizeable amount of cash in a lump sum.

Since it is necessary that each potential member be trustworthy, a club membership list indicates the general nature of relationships between people. Rarely does the participation in a single club extend beyond the confines of the li and usually is restricted to but one or two villages. Some villagers have attempted to form or join clubs without success because they are not considered [563] trustworthy. For example, a Mainland soldier in the village who is an adopted-in husband with four children needed money for the medical expenses of his wife's ailing parents. Other than a slight fondness for beer (15 bottles or so per month) he has turned almost all his money over to his wife to manage. Moreover, he is a steady worker and as a dynamiter in the mines earns $100.00 per day, considerably more than the average villager, but [829] he was unable to establish a club. As previously stated, Mainlanders are still regarded as outsiders who are not to be trusted. Other villagers have failed to establish clubs in the past and some are not even permitted to join clubs. Yet, many women are able to establish clubs and it 525 562 575 appears that women usually constitute about half the membership. In this regard, most village women obviously

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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595 rank higher in the status system than some men.

Female participants in money-lending clubs are of two structural types. One type consists of those who are heads of households participating with household money such that any profits which are realized will be returned to the family pool. Since men are usually the heads of households, in a sense, women filling this role of head are the equivalent of men. Historically, female heads of households in Sanlei have always participated in money-lending clubs.

The second structural type consists of women who are not heads of households and who participate with their personal money. And profits which they realize are retained personally rather than contributed to the family pool. As previously stated, only women have this personal money which does not belong to the family pool (See Chapter III). Some villagers claim that 25 or more years ago women had personal money but did not use it for money-lending clubs but other villagers disagree, arguing that women always participated in the clubs with personal money. In any case, women do use their personal money now to join the smaller clubs and eventually, accumulate enough for any club. One older active village woman has accumulated over $10,000.00 in personal money, the equivalent of the amount a man would earn in about eight months of full-time work. The opportunity to accumulate such funds does give women a significant level of economic

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independence and thereby, elevate their status and security.

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Money-lending clubs are extremely popular in Sanlei and about six or seven are in process at any moment in time. The participants are drawn from about two thirds of the households: some households contain more than two participants, i.e., the man participating as a household head and his wife participating with her personal money. Some men belong to several clubs simultaneously, but women usually belong to only one at a time. In one case, Liao Chi-hsing, a farmer at the middle level of income in the community, belonged to four simultaneously at a cost of over $1,000.00 monthly.

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With their inter-locking memberships, money-lending clubs are a unifying force in the village. Both males and females participate in the same clubs and either sex may be a club originator. This is one of the few village organizations in which both sexes formally participate competitively as relative equals. However, because of other kinds of values, a husband and his wife do not participate in the same club.

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Chieh Pai Hsiung Ti (Sworn Brothers Association)

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A sworn brothers association is a pseudo-kinship group of males who are friends and age mates, i.e., within an age span of two to four years. Each association is formed by a group of twenty or so young men when they are between the ages of 17 and 24. Rarely do the members live more than one or two villages apart at the time the

God's Associations

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794 A god's association is almost identical to the sworn brothers association and is seemingly formed in the same way with the same kind of membership but it always has an identification with a single god. The primary difference is that the sworn brothers association ends with the death of its members but a god's association membership is inherited by a man's oldest son or some other male relative if there is no son. Since there is a higher probability of adding additional members to god's associations, they tended to be much larger.

I was never able to determine exactly the differences distinguishing the establishment of each. It did seem that if a sworn brothers association prospered and its members lived a long time, there was a tendency to continue it by inviting sons as replacements and adding other members so that it eventually evolved into a god's association. In no case did a son and father both belong to the same association at the same time.

There were two god's associations centered in Sanlei and compared with the sworn brothers associations, both were larger, contained members dispersed over a greater territory, involved greater class distinctions, and of course, had members covering a greater age span. The two god's associations in Sanlei both had regional political leaders and wealthy men among its members although men of this type do not live in the village.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Social Effects of Men's Voluntary Associations

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Some manifest social effects of men's voluntary associations were already pointed out, i.e., fellowship, insurance, social control, religious, etc., but there are latent effects which are also important.

As previously stated, the village is a prime unit for personal identification and the values associated with membership in a village social unit would tend towards extreme isolation of the community from the rest of society. However, a peasant community, by definition and by fact, is part of a larger society and cannot be an isolate. In addition to the establishment of relationship across community boundaries on the basis of kinship (agnatic and affinal), men's voluntary associations serve an identical linking mechanism.

In any society such as China in which kinship is an important organizing principle, some men have few or no kinsmen because biology is a significant, if not exclusive, determinant of many kinship relations. That is, some people are barren and some family lines do not prosper. Sworn brothers associations provide an acceptable cultural alternative to the relatively kinless man who might be otherwise isolated. The very name itself (sworn brothers) evokes recognition of its basis as a simulated kinship group.

Finally, the individual member gains emotional support from his membership. Although most social

182 relationships in China are hierarchically structured, i.e.,
515 landlord over tenant, elder over younger, father over son,
573 etc., sworn brothers associations are a collectivity of equals. Even where there are great differences in status, the differences are relatively buried for interpersonal relationships, especially at association meetings. Since it would probably be impossible to bury a father-son or older brother-younger brother status difference, these two types of relationships are never encompassed within a single sworn brothers association.

Because of these various reasons, manifest and latent, almost every man belongs to a sworn brothers association but no man belongs to two. Fewer men belong to god's associations which are not exclusive, i.e., a man may belong to more than one (most members of a single god's association also belong to a sworn brothers association). Indeed, one politician in Hsin Tien belongs to six god's associations including both of those centered in Sanlei Ts'un.

Neighborhood

361 The village is informally divided into three neighborhoods although the physical boundaries separating them are but minor barriers. One barrier results from the fact the village slopes up a hill while a small mountain runs down towards the village at right angles to the slope. A very small brook (18" wide) runs down the mountain towards the village as if it were going to bisect

000 important event: life crises, health, and economic. The
778 home is the central focus of worship and in all but two
[353] village homes, the most elaborate and expensive furnishings are those connected with worship. The second most important center is the temple which is the most elaborate and
771 expensive building in the community. Although Sanlei vil-
62 lage is highly integrated, only for religion does the com-
182 munity gather in one place to act cooperatively with any
182 degree of frequency. At the li level, the temple and
632 religion serve a similar function except that in addition
771 to religion, politics and the school also feature commun-
771 ity-wide cooperation and joint activities. Religion is
602 the unifying element, at least on a manifest basis, of
182 larger kinship organizations such as the compound and
575 lineage and such voluntary organizations as the sworn brothers and god's associations.

771 Religious values support the dictums of social con-
626 trol. Although there are reasonably high levels of skep-
182 ticism regarding the efficacy of religious acts, no man is truly an atheist, i.e., although many claim not to believe that a particular act works or has power for good or evil, almost everyone is afraid not to perform the required ritual when it is specified as appropriate.

771 There are so many kinds of religious and magical
183 functionaries, that one can be found to recommend almost
182 any kind of desired action. This recommendation supports
79